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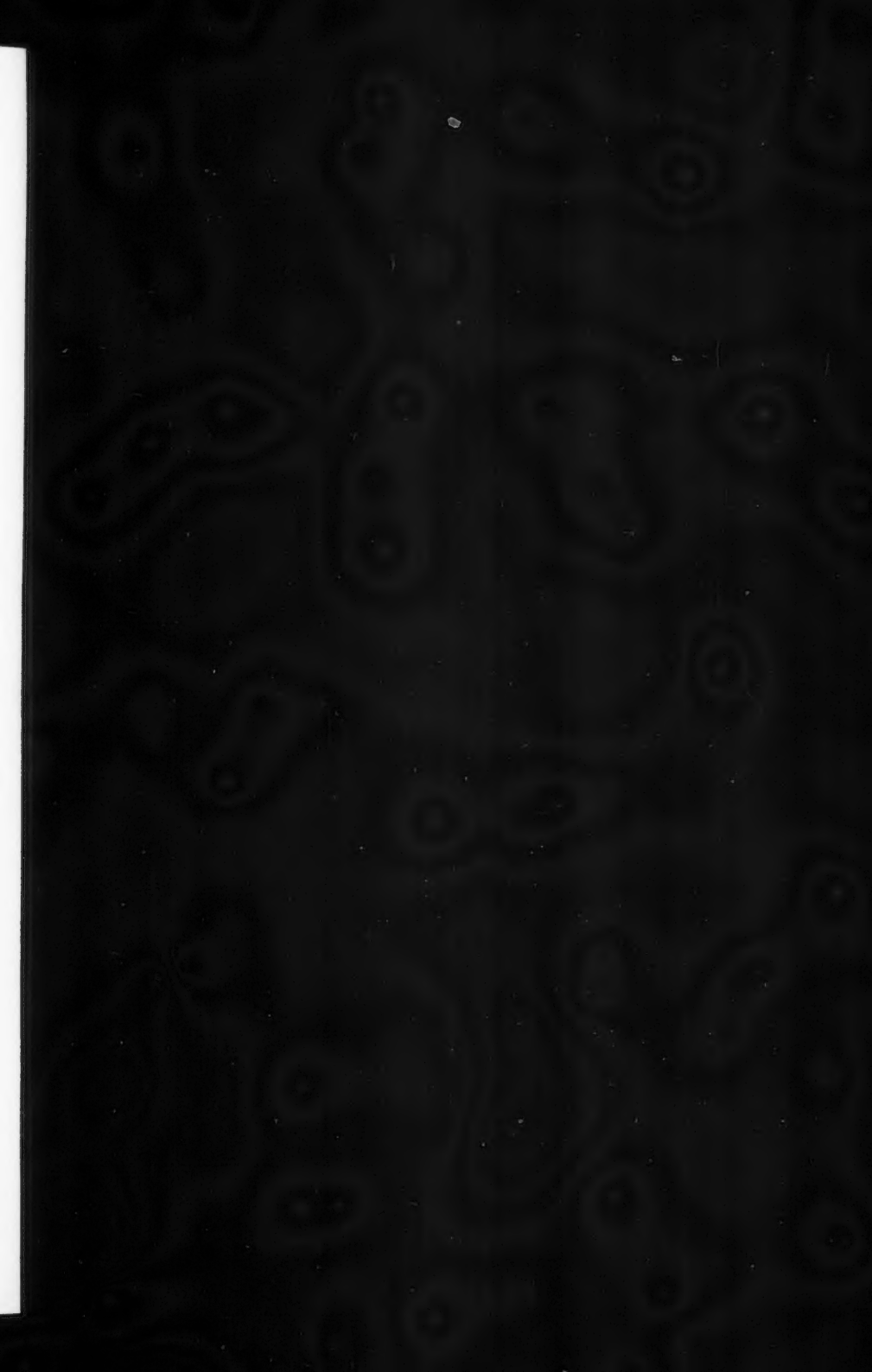
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Scandinavian Studies

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NOTES ON OLD NORSE PHONOLOGY

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

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I. *The Gemination rr after a Long Accented Vowel*

THIS gemination occurs chiefly in the adjectival type *fár(r)* 'few' nom. masc. sing., *fár(r)ar* gen. fem. sing., *fár(r)i* dat. fem. sing., *fár(r)a* gen. plur., *fær(r)i* comp., etc.

Holthausen,¹ Wimmer,² and Bethge³ evidently assume that the gemination *rr* was of phonetic origin in both the monosyllabic and the dissyllabic type, whereas Noreen⁴ and Iversen⁵ assume a phonetic origin only for the dissyllabic type. Noreen (*ibid.*) accounts for the gemination in the monosyllabic type (*fárrr*) as due to the influence of the dissyllabic type (*fárrar*, etc.). This hypothesis is apparently based upon the fact that if no dissyllabic forms appear with gemination in the paradigm, the monosyllabic forms likewise regularly appear without gemination⁶ (cf. *kýr* 'cow,' *slær* 'he strikes'). But if Noreen's hypothesis is correct, then why do the plural monosyllabic forms *fár* nom.-acc. fem. (cf. *fár(r)a* gen. plur.), *þeir* nom. masc., *þær* nom.-acc. fem. (cf.

¹ Cf. Holthausen, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §117.

² Cf. Wimmer, *Anord. Grm.*, §23, b.

³ Cf. R. Bethge, *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte*, §142, 1 b.

⁴ Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*, §280, 2.

⁵ Cf. Iversen, *Norroen Grammatikk*, §49, 3. Iversen does not discuss the monosyllabic type.

⁶ There are sporadic examples of this type, in which the gemination occurs, such as *Týr(r)*, *mór(r)*, 'heath.' The reason for the gemination in this type is not certain, but it is most likely that the gemination is of analogical origin after the pattern of the genitive singular forms *Týs(s)*, *mós(s)* with geminated *s* (cf. footnote 9).

þeir(r)a gen. plur.) never appear with gemination? This discrepancy casts suspicion on the correctness of Noreen's explanation and at the same time raises the question as to whether the gemination in the monosyllabic type (*fárr* nom. masc. sing.) may not be due to some analogical influence other than that of the dissyllabic forms with gemination.

Both Noreen (*ibid.*) and Iversen (*ibid.*) assume that in the dissyllabic forms the gemination was due to conditions of stress and vowel quantity. But this hypothesis is a mere assumption, and far from convincing, especially since there exist no satisfactory parallels for the gemination of other consonants under the same phonetic conditions. Why should *r* be thus affected and not, e.g., the liquid *l*?⁷ Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*³, §187, Anm. 2) leaves the whole question of gemination after a long accented vowel, except in the imperative type (*grátt*), as "nicht sicher erklärt. . . ."

A far more satisfactory solution of this problem is possible if we assume that the gemination *rr* in the adjectival type was of analogical origin, not only in the monosyllabic but also in the dissyllabic forms. The pattern for this analogy could have been furnished by the example of the adjectival type *stórr* 'large,' in which the organic *r*- (after the long radical vowel) plus an *-r* of the inflectional endings resulted in *rr*⁸ (hence *stórr*:*fárr*, *stórra(r)*:*fárra(r)*, *stórri*:*fárri*, *stórri*:*færri*). Nowhere does the gemination *rr* appear in the adjectival type *fár(r)* except where it appears in the type *stórr*. The monosyllabic forms *fár*, *þeir*, *þær* (mentioned above) do not appear with gemination because in these inflectional cases the type *stórr* has no gemination (cf. *fár* < **fáar*, *þær* < **þáar*:*stórar* nom.-acc. fem. plur.; *þeir*:*fáir*, *stórir* nom. masc. plur.). Noreen's theory that the gemination in the nom. masc. sing. form *fárr* was due to the influence of the gemination in the dissyllabic forms (*fárrar*, *fárri*, etc.) must be discarded,

⁷ The gemination *rr* in the type *fárr*:*fárrar* is not parallel to the gemination *ll* in the type *heill*:*heillar* because the *ll* here was due to the assimilation of **lr* > *ll* (cf. **heilr* > *heill*: **heilra* > *heilla*, but *fár* > *fárr*, *fárrar* > *fárrar*).

⁸ The fact that after a long accented vowel *r* is never geminated before a short vowel with secondary accent in the verbal type *fórra* (cf. *fárra*) lends support to this hypothesis.

since it is not in accord with the facts as present in the plural forms. This discrepancy is removed if we assume that the gemination in the form *fárr*⁹ was due to the influence of the type *stórr*. The adjectives *fár(r)*, *blár(r)*, *grár(r)*, etc., could have been directly influenced by the pronominal adjective *várr* 'our' (with long radical vowel *a* plus organic *-r*).

In view of these facts it seems hardly probable that the gemination of *r* after a long vowel, even in the dissyllabic forms, was of phonetic origin.

II. The Lack of *i*-Umlaut in the Plural Paradigm of *Eyrir*

The plural forms of *eyrir* (masc. *ia*-stem) appear without umlaut of the radical vowel (*au* > **ey*): *aurar*, *aura*, *aurum*, *aura*. The plural paradigm has, therefore, apparently suffered a heterocclisis from the *ia*-declension into the *a*- (or *an*-) declension. No other examples of such a heterocclisis occur in the declension of ON substantives. Substantives may borrow the inflectional endings of other declensions (e.g., *vegr* = Goth. *wigs*, masc. *a*-stem; gen. sing. *veg-s*, -*ar*, nom. plur. *veg-ar*, -*ir* after the model of the *u*- or of the *i*-declension), but none have on this account discarded an unumlauted radical vowel in favor of an original unumlauted vowel (or vice-versa) throughout only the plural or only the singular paradigm, if both paradigms are preserved.¹⁰

Since the apparent heterocclisis (*eyrir*, *ia*-stem: *aurar*, *a*- or *an*-stem) cannot be explained on internal ON evidence, the only possible explanation is to assume foreign influence; i.e., because of the phonetic conditions involved in the singular and plural forms of the foreign models upon which *eyrir*: *aurar* were based,

⁹ Cf. the parallel gemination of *s* in the gen. sing. form *fás* > *fáss*, possibly after the model of adjectives with long radical vowel plus organic *-s*, such as *lauss* 'loose': gen. sing. *lauss* (hence *lauss*: *fáss* parallel to *stórr*: *fárr*); see my article in *Language*, Vol. XVI (1940), p. 160. Similarly, the gemination of *t* in the nom.-acc. form *fát* > *fátt* may be of analogical origin, due to the example of either *fárr*: *fáss* or the type *smátt* < **smáht* (cf. Noreen, §280, Anm. 4).

¹⁰ Doublet forms (with and without *i*-umlaut) occur in the *i*-stems (cf. *sætt*: *sótt*, *sættir*: *sóttir*; *Hǫnir*: *Húnir* > *Húnar*), but such doublets can have no bearing upon the plural paradigm *aur-ar*, since there are no such doublet forms in the singular paradigm (*eyrir*) of the *ia*-declension.

the ON word was regularly formed (with *i*-umlaut) in the singular, but irregularly formed (without *i*-umlaut) in the plural paradigm. If this assumption is correct, then the plural paradigm does not represent a genuine heteroclisis but only conformity to a foreign pattern.

There can be no valid objection to the current derivation of *eyrir* from Lat. *aureus*, either on (1) formal or on (2) semantic grounds.

(1) *Aureus* > **aureur* > **auriur* > **aurir* > *eyrir* parallel to **sunir* > **sunir* > *synir*.

(2) *Aur-eus* (substantive use of an adjective derived from *aur-um* 'gold,' agreeing with *nummus* 'coin' understood) 'a golden coin, coin' = *eyrir* 'a coin, pence' > 'a measure of weight, ounce' ($\frac{1}{8}$ of a *mqrk*) in accord with the Germanic custom of payment by weight.

The Lat. word *aurum* 'gold' was, however, used through metonymy likewise in the sense¹¹ of 'a gold coin, coin'; 'money, wealth.' This sense occurred as early as Plautus and no doubt still existed in Mediaeval Latin at the time when the ON word *eyrir* was borrowed.

Since the two Latin words, *aureus* and *aurum*, occurred as synonyms, it is possible that the plural forms of the corresponding ON word (*aur-ar,-a,-um,-a*) were based not upon *aureus* (> *eyrir*: plur. **eyrar*) but upon *aurum*: plur. *aur-a* > ON *aur-ar*, etc., with the declensional endings of the *i*a-stems in accord with the singular paradigm.

The ON singular paradigm was based upon Lat. *aureus*, rather than upon Lat. *aurum*, because the form *aureus* furnished a corresponding regular ON form *eyrir*, masc. *i*a-stem, whereas Lat. *aurum* did not correspond to any ON substantive form.

The ON plural paradigm could have been based upon the Lat. plural *aur-a* because this form lacked the suffix vowel *e* (=ON *i*) in keeping with the loss of the ON suffix vowel *i* in the plural paradigm (Lat. *aur-a* > ON *aur-ar*). The lack of the suffix vowel in both the Lat. and the ON could have further led to the lack of umlaut of the radical vowel *au* in ON in conformity with the Latin. That the ON vowel *au* was directly borrowed

¹¹ Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1941), Vol. II, p. 1527.

from the Latin and not due to analogy is supported by two factors: (1) because the regular plural forms with umlaut (**eyr-ar*, etc.) never appear, and (2) if they had existed, there is no analogy whereby their disappearance can be explained. The declensional endings of the plural forms *aur-ar*, etc., were identical with those of the *a-* (or *an-*) declension and thus favored the borrowing of the Lat. radical vowel *au* (= ON *au*) intact.

This explanation of the discrepancy between ON *eyrir* sing. and *aurar* plur. must of necessity be purely speculative, but the theory here advanced is at least in accord with the fact that irregularities in the declension of loan words are often due to the influence of more than one foreign prototype.¹²

III. The Contracted Forms in *-uá* in the Declension of *Skór*

Contracted forms in *-uá* occur only in the plural paradigm, where *-a(r)* is added to the stem vowel *ó* (nom. *skóar:skyár*, gen. *skúa*¹³:*skyá*, acc. *skóa:skyá*). Besides these forms in *-óa(r)* there also occur uncontracted forms in *-úa(r)* (nom. *skóar:skúar*, gen. *skúa*, acc. *skóa:skúa*).

Since there are no examples of the shift¹⁴ of *ó* to *ú* before *a*, it is safe to assume that the contracted forms in *-uá(r)* were derived not from the secondary forms in *-úa(r)* but from the original forms in *-óa(r)*. The *ú* for *ó* may then be explained as a back-formation from the contracted forms, i.e., *skyá(r) > skúa(r)* in conformity with the original dissyllabic forms *skóa(r)* with long-stem vowel¹⁵ and hiatus.

¹² E.g., compare Goth. *aipistaule* nom. sing.: *aipistaulein* dat.-acc. sing. after the model of Grk. *ἐπιστολή*, but *aipistulans* acc. plur. after the model of Lat. *epistula*.

¹³ *Skúa* in place of earlier **skóa*.

¹⁴ In the doublet forms *bóandi:búandi* the *ó* has not been shifted to *ú*. The difference is due to an original ablaut variation **ó(u):**ú*; *ó* being regularly preserved in East Norse (*bóa*) and *ú* in West Norse (*búa*). *Bóandi* is the East Norse form preserved in Old Icelandic.*

In the verbal doublets *skóa:skúa* 'to shoe' the variation *ó:ú* is due to the parallel variation in the derivative substantive *skóa(r):skúa(r)*.

¹⁵ With shift of accent the semivowel *y* in *skyá(r)* became the full vowel *ü > ú*.

The contraction $\acute{o}a > yá$ occurs nowhere else¹⁶ in OIcel., although it is in keeping with that of new diphthongs which were the result of a long-accented vowel in conjunction with a short vowel with weak stress (cf. $féar > *fēár > fjár$ with $skóar > *skōár > skyár$). That the contraction did occur in ONorw. is proved by the existence of such forms¹⁷ as $már$ ($< *myár < móar$), $Flár$ ($< *Flyár > Flóar$). Therefore it is possible that in OIcel. the contraction would have regularly taken place in all words, if there had not existed some counter analogical influence. This influence may have been the tendency to level the contracted forms in favor of the uncontracted forms in the paradigm (i.e., $*myá(r) > mó-a(r)$ after the pattern of the singular paradigm $mór, mós, mói, mó$ and the dat. plur. $móm < *mó-um$, with radical vowel $ó$). The contracted forms $skyá(r)$ then could represent the phonetically correct forms alongside the analogical forms $skóa(r)$ due to leveling. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the contracted forms appear in the oldest OIcel. MSS.¹⁸

But the question now arises as to why the contraction was preserved in the declensional forms of $skór$ and not in other OIcel. words. So far as I have been able to determine, $skór$ is the only word in which the combination $\acute{o}a$ follows the consonant k ; in all other words (substantives, adjectives, or verbs) the combination $\acute{o}a$ is usually preceded by either a liquid¹⁹ (l, r) or by a nasal²⁰ (m, n) or by no consonant²¹ at all. After the liquids and nasals the contraction would have resulted in the combinations²²

¹⁶ Noreen's example (§134, b), $*óarr > várr$, is not valid, in that this v - may represent the restoration of the original v - in the pronominal stem $v-ér, v-it$ (cf. Heusler, §255).

¹⁷ Cf. Noreen, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Cf. Noreen, §360, Anm. 4, and Larsson's *Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna* (Lund, 1891), p. 302b.

¹⁹ Cf. the substantives $fló: fló-a(r)$ 'flea,' $flói: flóa$ 'a flow, bay' (verb $flóa$ 'to flood'), $kló: kló-a(r)$ 'claw,' $ló: ló-a(r)$ 'sandpiper'; $ró: ró-a(r)$ 'rest,' $pró: pró-a(r)$ 'trough'; the verbs $róa$ 'to row' (so too, $sóa$ 'to sacrifice'), $gróa$ 'to grow'; the weak form $flóa$ of the adjective $flór$ 'warm.' The list of the liquid type can be considerably extended.

²⁰ Cf. the substantives $mór: mó-a(r)$ 'heath,' $nór: nó-a(r)$ 'ship' (cf. $Nóa-tún$).

²¹ Cf. the substantives $jór: jó-a(r)$ 'steed,' $óan$ 'fear' (verb $óa: óask$); $jór < *ekwar$ with no initial consonant.

²² In ONorw. the sonant y disappeared after the sonants l, r, m, n , resulting in the contracted vowel \acute{a} in conformity with an original $\acute{d} < *\acute{e}$.

**lyá*, **ryá*, **myá*, **nyá*, which combinations did not already exist. On the other hand, the contraction *skyá* was in conformity with an original combination *kyá*²³ (not due to contraction), as in *kyá-ma*, *kyá-n*, *kyá-ða* (cf. Goth. *qiman*, *qēns*, *qipan*). Since original *yá* (< PG **yā*) occurred after *k* (i.e., PG labialized *k+ā*) but not after the liquids and nasals, the conformity between the old *yá* and the new *yá* (< *ða*) may explain the restriction of the new *yá* to the contracted forms of *skór*. Finally, as regards the type of *jóa(r):ða*, where no consonants precede the combination *ða*, the same principle applies as in the case of the liquid-nasal type. Neither the combination **iyá*²⁴ nor the combination initial **yá*²⁵ would have been in conformity with a previously existing type. Furthermore, the verbal forms *ða:ðan* could easily have stood under the influence of the liquid-verbal type *róa*. In OIcel., therefore, the contraction *ða > yá* was preserved only where a primary *yá* (i.e., not due to contraction) occurred, viz., after the consonant *k*.²⁶

IV. *Heusler's Theory as to the Development of the Dental Suffix* *ð > t* *after Voiceless l (< *lþ) and Voiceless n (< *nþ) in the Preterite of ian-Verbs*

According to the orthodox view original *lþ*, *nþ* of the stem was already assimilated to *ll*, *nn* before the time of the syncope of the middle vowel *i*, resulting in the development **lþ > *ll + *ð > *llþ > *lþ > lt* (cf. **wilþiðō > *willðō > *willþō > *vilþa > villa*), **nþ > *nn + *ð > *nnþ > *nþ > nt* (cf. **nanþiðō > *nennðō > *nenþa > nenta*).

²³ I have found no examples of an original combination **skyá*, but the initial *s* does not affect the parallel in question.

²⁴ Cf. *jó-a > *jyá* (= **iyá*).

²⁵ Cf. *ða > *yá*, which would have become **nd*.

²⁶ The combination *úa* never underwent contraction to *yá*. I have found only one word which contains this combination after the consonant *k*, viz., *kúa*, gen. plur. of *kýr* 'cow.' The retention of the form *kúa* (instead of *kyá*) can be explained as due to leveling in the paradigm, since all other forms of this word were without *-a* of the declensional ending (cf. *kýr*, *kýr*, *kú*, *kú*; *kýr*, *kúa*, *kúm*, *kýr*). On the other hand, the declension of *skór* required the vowel *-a* in three of the four case forms of the plural paradigm (cf. *skóar* nom., *skúa* gen., *skóa* acc.).

Heusler,²⁷ on the other hand, assumes that original *lp*, *np* had not yet become assimilated to *ll*, *nn* before the time of the syncope, and therefore that the *t*-suffix was derived not from *þ* but from *tt* < *þþ*: i.e., **lp* + **ð* > **lþþ* > **lut* > *lt* (cf. **wilþiðō* > **wilþdō* > **wilþþō* > **wiltta* > *vilta*), **np* + **ð* > **nþþ* > **nnt* > *nt* (cf. **nanþiðō* > **nenþþō* > **nentta* > *nenta*).

Heusler does not attempt to refute the current view, but if his objection to this view is based upon the fact that the dental suffix does not appear as *þ* (**vilþa*:**nenþa*) but always as *t* (*vilta*:*nenta*), this objection has no foundation, for wherever the dental suffix *ð* was added to *l*, *n* which were rendered voiceless by a preceding voiceless spirant or stop, the *þ*-stage likewise disappeared in the literary era (cf. **maþliðō* > **mælþa* > *mæltta*, **rahnidō* > **rænþa* > *ræntta*, **ðxliðō* > **ðxlþa* > *ðxltta*, **wapniðō* > **væpnþa* > *væpnntta*). Therefore, the forms **vilþa*, **nenþa* are on a level with **mælþa*, **rænþa*, **ðxlþa*, **væpnþa*, where the suffix *þ* could not possibly be derived from *þþ*, since the stem did not end in original *þ* as in the type **vilþa* (< **wilþiðō*), **nenþa* (< **nanþiðō*).

There can therefore be no valid objection to the orthodox view, even if we have no historical evidence as to the priority of the assimilation of *lp* > *ll*, *np* > *nn* over the syncope of the vowel *i* after a long syllable. Nor does the disappearance of the *þ*-stage militate against this view, for the combinations *lp* (**vilþa*), *np* (**nenþa*) were not phonetically correct, hence dissimilation (or perhaps better, *differentiation*) took place in order to preserve the dental suffix, which would otherwise have been lost (cf. voiced *l* + original *þ* > *ll*, and voiced *n* + original *þ* > *nn* in **wulþō* [cf. Goth. *wulþ-us*] > *olla*, **kunþō* [Goth. *kunþa*] > *kunna*).

V. The Retention of *j* before *a* and *u* in the Substantive *jan*-Stem *Adili*

Before the vowels *a* and *u* the *j*-suffix is regularly dropped

²⁷ Cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*³, §181, 2, b: "Neben *t*, *s*, *þ* ist *þ* schon um 900 zu *t* weitergerückt . . . **wilþiðō* > **wilþþe* > *villte* 'er verwirrte'; got. *nanþida*: *nente* 'er verstand sich wozu' (dasselbe nach stimmlosen *l*, *n*, §183)."

In view of the fact that *lp*, *np* could have been assimilated to *ll*, *nn* before the time of the syncope of the middle vowel *i*, it is not clear why Heusler resorts to the hypothesis of *lþþ*, *nþþ*. His failure to make this clear renders the basic point of his argument extremely uncertain.

after a long stem (cf. **hirðjar* > *hirðar*, **hirðjum* > *hirðum*), except after *g* and *k* (cf. *höfðing-i, -ja, -jum*; **virk-i, -ja, -jum*). Nevertheless, in the long stem *adili* the *j*-suffix appears before *a* and *u* (*adil-ja(r), -jum*). How is the retention of *j* here to be explained?

So far as I have been able to determine, the substantive *adili* represents the only example of the *ian*-stems (with the exception of those ending in *g* or *k*), unless we consider the substantives *end-i, -a*; *gylf-i, -a* as such.

The weak forms *endi*, *gylfi* represent shortened forms²⁸ of *endir* (Goth. *anpeis*), *gylfir*, both *ia*-stems. The *j*-suffix disappeared before *a* and *u* in the weak declension for the same reason as it disappeared in the corresponding forms of the strong declension, i.e., because of the *long-stem* syllable. It is therefore misleading when Noreen²⁹ says that *endi* is "inflected like an *an*-stem," for on account of the loss of the *j*-suffix the declensional endings of the *an*- and of the *ian*-stems coincide (cf. the plural paradigm *end-ar, -a, -um, -a*, which is identical for both the *ian*-stem *endi* and the *ia*-stem *endir*). Besides, the *an*-declension can never have a phonetically correct umlauted radical vowel³⁰ (*e, y*).

We may safely assume then that *endi* and *gylfi* represent not *an*- but *ian*-stems, and therefore that the loss of the *j*-suffix before *a* and *u* is phonetically correct. On the other hand, if the retention of the *j*-suffix before *a* and *u* in the *ian*-stem *adili* is likewise phonetically correct, this must be due to the fact that we have here two different types of long stems, viz., (1) monosyllabic (*end-, gylf-*), and (2) dissyllabic (*adil-*). The dissyllabic type *adil-* possesses a second short syllable *-ðil-* with secondary stress (*áðil-ia, -jum*). Because of this short syllable of the dissyllabic stem it might be assumed that the *j* was retained after *a* and *u* for the same reason as after primary short stems with

²⁸ Cf. Noreen, *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen* (1928), Paul's *Grundriss*, 3, §195, 4.

²⁹ Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*⁴, §371, Anm.: "*Ender ende geht . . . wie ein anstamm. . .*"

³⁰ In my article "Analogical Formations in Old Norse," *Language*, Vol. XVI (1940), I refer (p. 161) to the radical vowels *e, y* in *endi, gylfi* as "analogical," but this is obviously incorrect. The umlauted vowels were the result of the *j*-suffix in *endir, gylfir*, and their retention in the *ian*-declension *endi, gylfi* is phonetically correct.

full-stressed radical vowel (cf. *vil-jà, -jum*; *nīd-jà, -jum*). But this hypothesis is invalidated by the example of the type *érfiđi* (neut. *īa*-stem), which never retains the *j* before *a* and *u* (cf. *erfiđa* gen. plur., *erfiđum* dat. plur.). It cannot be shown that the dissyllabic character of a long stem resulted in the retention of the *j*-suffix before *a* and *u*, as in *ađilja(r)*, *ađiljum*. Just as we have *kvæđ-i, -a*: *erfiđ-i, -a*, so we should expect *end-i, -a*: *ađil-i, -a*.

The obvious conclusion is therefore that the retention of *j* before *a* and *u* in *ađil-ja(r), -jum* cannot be phonetically correct and therefore must be due to analogy. It is not impossible that this analogy was furnished by the example of the short stem *vil-i, -ja*, the point of contact being the formal identity of the element *-il-* (cf. *ađ-il-i*, *v-il-i*). The leveling of the two types would naturally result in favor of the more frequent type *vil-i, -ja* (with *j*-suffix) since *ađili* represents the only example of a dissyllabic *īan*-stem. In favor of this hypothesis is the fact that both words later discarded³¹ the *j* before *a* and *u*: i.e., the two words remained in conformity with each other as regards both the retention and the loss of *j* before *a* and *u*.

³¹ Cf. my remarks on this point in the article referred to in footnote 30 (pp. 160 f.).

THE HADDEBY AND SCHLESWIG OF NIKULÁS OF MUNKAPVERÁ¹

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THE record which Nikulás Bergsson² of the Benedictine foundation at Munkapverá (Eyjarfjarðar sýsla), Iceland, kept or made of his pilgrimage from Iceland to the Holy Land

¹ Abbreviations of titles of works quoted in the text:

- Alfr.* Kr. Kálund, ed., *Alfræði íslensk: íslandsk encyklopædisk Litteratur*, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1908.
- ANO* Kr. Kálund, "En íslandsk Vejviser for pilgrimme fra 12. århundrede," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 3d ser., Vol. III (1913), pp. 51-105.
- Andree* Richard Andree, E. Ambrosius, ed., *Andrees Allgemeiner Handatlas*, 7th ed., Leipzig, 1921.
- Egli* J. J. Egli, *Nomina geographica: Sprach- und Sacherklärung von 42,000 geographischen Namen aller Erdräume*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1893.
- Falk-Torp* H. S. Falk—Alf Torp, H. Davidsen, transl., *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1910-1911.
- Förstemann* Ernst Förstemann, Hermann Jellinghaus, ed., *Alteutsches Namenbuch—Ortsnamen*, 3d ed., Vol. II only, Bonn, 1911-1916.
- Frahm* Fr. Frahm, "Schleswig-Haithabu und die Anskarskirche in Haddeby," *Zs. d. Gesellschaft f. Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, Vol. LXII (1934), pp. 156-212.
- Hellquist* Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk Ordbok*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Lund, 1935-1939.
- Kluge-Götze* Fr. Kluge, Alfred Götze, ed., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. deutschen Sprache*, 11th ed., Berlin, 1934.
- Larsen* Sophus Larsen, "Jomsborg, dens Beliggenhed og Historie," *ANO*, 3d ser., Vol. XVII (1927), pp. 1-138.
- Oesterley* Hermann Oesterley, *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters*, Gotha, 1883.
- Wadstein* Elis Wadstein, *Norden och Västeuropa i gammal Tid*, Stockholm, 1925.
- WP* Alois Walde-Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch d. indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1927-1939.

² See E. C. Werlauff, ed., *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi ex Monumentis Islandicis* (Copenhagen, 1821), pp. 4 f. (the work is sometimes cited by an alternate title, taken from another printing: *Summa Geographiae Medii Aevi ad Mentem Islandorum*); Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs*

in 1154 constitutes one of the most detailed itineraries that have come down to us from the early Middle Ages.³ As such it is of particular interest not only to students of Icelandic literature as an early specimen of diary writing⁴ but also to historians in general who are concerned with medieval travel. Because of its detailed listing of stops, not to mention reports of sights seen,⁵ over a long route every statement assumes an unusual significance. The identification of his stopping places, *mansiones* of Roman times, is, of course, of particular importance, and in the present paper I should like to discuss two which have in one way or another been the subject of no little controversy. These are (1) Haddeby, once a great trading post on the Haddeby Noor on the south side of the Schlei estuary in Schleswig-Holstein, and (2) its successor on the north side of the estuary, Schleswig itself.

Nikulás had come from Iceland to Norway⁶ and thence to the

Historie (2d ed.), Vol. II, pp. 113 f., 935 f. Former association of Nikulás, the diarist, with the Benedictine foundation at Þingeyrar was due to a confusion between Nikulás Bergsson of Munkaþverá (ca. 1159), the diarist, with Nikulás Sæmundsson, second abbot of Þingeyrar (ca. 1157?). All is clearly set forth by Eiríkur Magnússon, "Benedictines in Iceland," *The Downside Review*, Vol. XVI (1897), pp. 168-177, 258-267, especially pp. 176, 262; Magnússon's article was translated into French for the *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XV (1898), where see especially pp. 153, 193. The matter is, unfortunately, not quite clearly presented by L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Macon, 1936), under "Thingeyrar" and "Thverá."

³ Among others, note especially the itineraries of Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, in 990 and of Philip II of France in 1191. For literature on these and others see *Speculum*, Vol. XVI (1942), p. 367, footnotes 1 and 2.

⁴ In view of the accuracy of the detail, except for occasional displacement in the order of stopping places, it is hard not to believe that Nikulás kept some sort of memoranda of his journey. It is stated that the text "*er rittinn ath fyrirsögn Nichólas abota*," "written at the instruction, i.e., the dictation of Abbot Nikulás" (*Alfr.*, p. 23, l. 19), but this may quite conceivably have been accomplished en route.

⁵ On his exceptionally full description of Rome see Arrigo Solmi, "L'itinerario italico dell' abate Nicolà . . .," R. Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere, *Rendiconti*, 2d ser., Vol. LXVI (1933), pp. 1207-1222, and my papers, "The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims, . . ." *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XXXIII (1940), pp. 277-287, and "Nikulás Bergsson and Germanic Heroic Legend," *Journ. Engl. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. XLII (1943), April issue.

⁶ The point of landing in Norway is not designated; it may well have been

Jutland peninsula, landing apparently at Aalborg (*Álaborg*, *Alfr.*, p. 13, ll. 4 f.). He then went to Viborg on Lake Viborg (*Vébjörg*, *Alfr.*, p. 13, l. 6)⁷ and travelled south along the important military highway down the peninsula.⁸ Though he does not mention it on the journey out, on the trip home he refers to *Scöðuborgar aa* (*Alfr.*, p. 23, l. 16), the broad Konge river, which divides Denmark from Schleswig-Holstein. Then come the two names that are at issue here. The passage, with its immediate context (*Alfr.*, p. 13, ll. 6 f.), runs as follows:

... til Vébjarga, þá er viku för til Heiða-bæjar, þá er skamt til Slés-víkr, þá dag-för til Ægis-dýra ("... to Viborg, then it is a week's journey to *Heiðabær*, then it is a short distance to *Slésvík*, then a day's journey to the Eider⁹ river.").

At issue here is the identification of the localities *Heiðabær* and *Slésvík*, the number of sites involved, and the significance, if any, of the order in which Nikulás mentions the names.

Two sites come into question, both on the Schlei estuary and both, curiously enough, at one time or another known by both the above-mentioned names, viz., (1) the site of the present parish of Haddeby on the Haddeby Noor on the south side of the Schlei estuary (cf. Andree, p. 59 D2/3; Wadstein, p. 56); (2) the site of the present town of Schleswig on the Schlei, ca. 1 km. due north of Haddeby (cf. map-reference as above) or ca. 4 km. by land around the west end of the estuary. Of these two sites Haddeby is the older and, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries at least, Haddeby was an important commercial center (cf. Wadstein, pp. 53 ff.; Frahm, p. 162, footnote 16b, p. 171), lying, as it did, at the east end of the trade-route across the Jutland peninsula from the Baltic to the North Sea.

Bergen (Icel. *Björgvin*, *Björgyn*); cf. N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi*, Pt. I (Copenhagen), p. 95.

⁷ In the modern name, *-borg* 'fortified place' has been substituted for the original second element *-björg*, pl. of *bjarg*, n. "rock."

⁸ Regarding this great highway of the past see H. A. Matthiessen, *Hærvejen, en tusindaarig vej fra Viborg til Danevirke*, . . . (Copenhagen, 1930), especially p. 13 for map, and pp. 18 f. for some brief comment on Nikulás's diary.

⁹ Regarding this river-name see my paper "*Fifeldor* and the Name of the Eider," *Namn och Bygd*, Vol. XXVIII (1940), especially pp. 109 ff.; to this add Schnetz, *Zs. f. Ortsnamenforschung*, Vol. X (1934), pp. 31 f., as a clever but, I think, unlikely suggestion concerning a Celtic origin of the element *-dor*.

As far as the names themselves are concerned, the history and meaning of Haddeby is clear enough. Older forms include ninth-century runic *Haipabu* and OE *æt Hæðum* (cf. Alfred's *Orosius*); the Scandinavian word means 'settlement, place (ON *bær*, *bær*, *býr*; Dano-Norw. *by*, *bø*, Swed. *by*) of the heaths' (ON *heiðr*); OE *æt Hæðum* 'at, on the heaths' omits the habitative terminal. Alternatively, as noted above, this same site on the south side of the Schlei was early known in ON as *Slés-*, *Slías-vík* 'estuary of the Schlei' (ON *Slé*) (cf. Förstemann, Vol. II, pp. 805, 1201; Oosterley, p. 609), and in most early instances almost surely refers to the *Haipabu* settlement. The first element *Slés-*, *Slías-* is probably related to IE **lei-* 'slimy, slippery,' as represented in the extended form **slei-* (cf. WP, Vol. II, p. 390), and may thus be cognate with Oicel. *slý*, 'a kind of slimy water-plant,' Norw. *slí* 'slime' (cf. Falk-Torp, Vol. II, p. 1062), and the like. The word is used here perhaps with reference either to the muddy bottom or to slimy vegetation; so Egli, p. 827, under "Schleswig," also Eilert Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), p. 371, under "Slea" (Lincs.). The terminal *-vík* in the ON forms of the name is no doubt the feminine noun meaning 'bay, inlet, estuary' (cf. Bugge, *Namn och Bygd*, Vol. VI (1918), p. 81; Wadstein, p. 54; Hellquist, under "vík"), though this is almost surely a popular substitution or sound-translation of the etymologically unrelated OLG (OS) *wík*, m. 'farmstead, settlement' (see Falk-Torp, under "vig"; Hellquist as above; Kluge-Götze, under "Weichbild"; *NED*, under "wick," sb.²). Regarding *Slies-thorp* 'Schlei village,' probably a variant of *Slésvík*, see Wadstein, p. 54; Frahm, p. 165.

No doubt rather for commercial and political than for military reasons (cf. Frahm, p. 183) the settlement on the Haddeby Noor was evacuated probably in the second half of the eleventh century, when the center of life and of trade was shifted north across the Schlei to the site of the present Schleswig, which may conceivably have been the site of some small earlier settlement of unknown designation (cf. Frahm, p. 189). Both names (ON *Slésvík* and *Heiðabær*) were carried along to the new northern site (cf. Frahm, pp. 171-173). In Nikulás's time (ca. 1150) the

southern Haddeby Noor site had accordingly, to all intents and purposes, been abandoned; only the imposing semi-circular ramparts and the twelfth-century fieldstone church continued, as it does to this day, the tradition of the mid-ninth-century foundation of the great Frankish missionary Ansgar (cf. Frahm, pp. 197 f.). The northern Schleswig site had now become the important place, for which the German-Saxon name-type "Schleswig" (ON *Slésvík*) was the standard designation, in time driving out the Scandinavian by-name *Hedeby* (ON *Heiðabær*). The Dan. by-form *Hedeby* (vs. *Haddeby*) continued, however, in popular Scandinavian use as an alternate name for Schleswig until the end of the sixteenth century (cf. Wadstein, p. 55).

The Scandinavian name-type, based on *Haiþabu* and the like, has, however, in the form *Haddeby* (not *Hedeby*!) survived as the designation of the parish in the area of the old southern settlement. From the thirteenth century on (cf. Frahm, p. 202, for forms) the name of the southern site shows a reduction of the older *ai-*, *ei*-diphthong (*Haiþa-*, *Heiða-*) to short *ǣ*, with *Haþeby* and *Had(d)eby* as typical earlier spellings. This exceptional vocalism is perhaps due to loss of stress in a compound (so Wadstein, pp. 61 f.) or, far less likely, to some local (Anglian? cf. OE *ǣ* < WGmc. *ai*) phonetic development (cf. Frahm, p. 207). The once common by-form *Haddebothe(e)* and variants (cf. Frahm, p. 198) show the Dan. substitute terminal *-bōð* (Oícel. *būð*, f., 'temporary dwelling, booth,' Germ. *Bude*) and probably reflects a conscious effort to distinguish the old southern Haddeby settlement or locality from the later northern Hedeby, i.e., Schleswig (cf. Wadstein, pp. 61 f.; Frahm, p. 199; Larsen, p. 69, footnote, views the *-th*, *-d* as nothing more than late orthographic flourishes).

We may now turn to Nikulás's use of these names and to the order in which he mentions them. Taken at face value, the text, quoted above, says in effect that Nikulás, coming from the north (Viborg), went first to *Heiðabær* (presumably Haddeby), then slightly back on his tracks to *Slésvík* (presumably Schleswig); thence in due time he continued his journey south to the Eider. Werlauff, the first commentator, accepts this interpretation and

(p. 36, §24) takes Nikulás sharply to task for giving round-about, if not downright faulty, travel instructions. Since Werlauff's time no little discussion has centered around the present passage, comparable for its supposed inconsistency of direction to a similar passage in Snorri's *Heimskringla* (cf. Finnur Jónsson, ed., Vol. I [Copenhagen, 1893-1900], p. 284, ll. 5-7), where King Sigurd of Norway in A.D. 1111 or 1112, on his return north from the Holy Land and Constantinople, visited successively in a north-south, vs. an expected south-north order, *Slésvík* and *Heiðabýr*; for a later correction of this see Larsen, pp. 71-73; Frahm, pp. 177-180. Kålund (*Alfr.*, p. 103, and *ANO.*, p. 65) urged the unlikely view that Nikulás's *Heiðabær* refers in "Scandinavian" fashion to Schleswig, specifically to the Altstadt- and Holm-district, and that his *Slésvík* (*Alfr.*, p. 109) would then mean quite literally the "(western end of the) Schlei estuary"; but ON *Slésvík* does not ordinarily have this application; cf. ON *Slésmynni* 'Schlei estuary.' In a more recent discussion Larsen, though holding to the view that the itinerary looks back to a tenth-century original (thus *ipso facto* antedating the evacuation of the southern Haddeby settlement), seems to suggest that both names here refer to the later northern Schleswig-Hedeby site. Frahm (pp. 179 f.), finally, would have it that the prototext had only *Heiðabær* and in the sense of the northern Schleswig-Hedeby settlement, and that the occurrence of the name *Slésvík* in the transmitted text may be due to some later scribe who knew of Haddeby (*Heiðabær*) but did not know (1) that *Heiðabær* could refer to either of the two settlements and (2) that in Nikulás's day (long after the evacuation of the southern settlement) *Heiðabær* could really have referred only to Schleswig-Hedeby.

Of these various interpretations of what is at best a puzzling passage, neither that of Werlauff, who would make Nikulás give bad and pointless instruction, nor that of Kålund, who gives *Slésvík* an overspecialized and, indeed, unlikely meaning, strikes me as plausible. Nor do I favor Larsen's view, according to which *Slésvík* amounts to nothing more than a clumsily phrased gloss on *Heiðabær*. Frahm may be right, especially in view of the confusion likely to come about as a result of the mixed history of the names in question. One may wonder, however, if we do not have here a

situation comparable to that in a little group of localities mentioned by Nikulás near the Great St. Bernard Pass,¹⁰ namely, a scribal-mechanical reversal of the order of names. If so, one must assume that the prototext read: "er viku för til Slésvíkr (Schleswig); þá er skamt til Heiðabæjar (Haddeby)," in which case the mention of the deserted or semi-deserted *Heiðabær* might properly enough be viewed as a side-remark on a matter of historical interest, here probably the Ansgar church.

¹⁰ I.e., *Péturs kastali*, *Bjarnardz spítali*, and *Péturs spítali* (cf. *Alfr.*, p. 15, ll. 7-10); on the disordered arrangement and confusion of these names see Rudolf Meissner, "Der isländische Name der Alpen," *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XLVII (1904), p. 194, footnote 2.

YNGVI-FREY AND AENGUS MAC OC

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YNGVI-FREY, as is well known, was the Sveagod *par excellence*, a great fertility divinity, whose cult center was Upsala, even in those far-off days the great religious and cult center of Sweden. He was worshipped, however, by all Teutonic tribes dwelling along the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, as is proved by OE *Ing*, the Cheruscan **Ingwia* (in names such as *Inguiomarus*) and, above all, by the name of the *Ingaevones* referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.*, c. 11) as *proximi Oceano Ingaevones* and comprising, according to Pliny (*N.H.* IV. 99), the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Chauci, i.e., the tribes inhabiting Jutland and the Frisian North Sea coast. From the same Yngvi-Frey the ancient Swedish dynasty of the *Ynglingar* is descended, and in *Beowulf* 1044, 1319 the Danes are called *Ingwine*, i.e., 'Friends of Ing.' The cult of Ing must be fairly ancient, witness the form **Enguz* (> **Iggus*) of the Gothic runic alphabet.

This Sveagod stands in curious contrast to the rank and file of the *Æsir*, the Teutonic divine dynasty. For one thing, he is the twin brother and, in certain texts, the lover of the gentle Freya, the Swedish goddess of love. At Upsala his statue could be seen (in the words of Adam of Bremen, IV. 26) *cum ingenti priapo*: he was thus an ithyphallic god. There were held in his honor, at stated intervals, mystery plays in which the sexual element was predominant, so much so that prudish Norse visitors were occasionally shocked. A human incarnation of the god, accompanied by his priestess, would traverse the country in spring, blessing the young plants, and if the priestess became pregnant, the farmers interpreted this as an especially good omen, since it presaged fertility and bumper crops.

Snorri (*Gylfag.*, ch. 23) states that Frey is invoked by men anxious to obtain fertility of the soil and peace (. . . *til drs ok friðar*). His *alter ego* is the Danish King Fróði III, who established peace all over the Northern lands.¹ He was fabled by the

¹ H. Hempel, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, Vol. XVI (1928), p. 199.

synchronists to have been the contemporary of the emperor Augustus, and Christ was thus born in his reign. Adam of Bremen knew the same tradition, and he describes him accordingly as a god of peace and of love (. . . *tertius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus*). He adds that at weddings there were sacrifices made to him, obviously with a view towards obtaining offspring.

His holy animal was the swine, a symbol of fertility not only in the North—the Greek Demeter and the Roman Dea Dia relished the same useful animal—and his chariot was accordingly drawn by a boar with golden bristles. At his great festival, at the time of the winter solstice, boars were sacrificed and eaten by his worshipers, and vows were made on the heads of these boars. Even now cakes in boar's shape are baked in Sweden on the eve of Yule. The custom of vows on the boar's head was known also in mediaeval England, and in some colleges of Oxford University a boar's head is still served on Christmas eve.

As a god of sea-faring tribes, Frey is given a marvelous ship, *Skiðblaðnir*, which is collapsible and can be folded up like a cloth.²

One quality, and a most important one for the ancient Teutonic gods, Frey appears to lack, namely valor. In a well-known Eddic lay he gives away his horse and his sword, and this proves his undoing at the last battle of the gods.

The Ancient Norse tradition has on the whole little to report of his feats; but what it does report is all the more characteristic. Having beheld the young giantess Gerðr, he falls hopelessly in love with her, pines away and can recover his health only when his faithful servant undertakes to be his messenger and to persuade the fair one to yield to his master's wishes, certainly a very unheroic rôle for the great god, though one strictly in accord with his general character.³ In fact, a comparison of Frey with the fair Adonis of classical lore, another effeminate divinity, is hardly far-fetched.

With the latter he shares his end, at least in one set of tradi-

² Snorri, *Gylfag.*, ch. 48; *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 7.

³ M. Olsen, *Maal og Minne*, 1909, pp. 17 ff.; cf. also F. R. Schröder, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, Vol. XVII (1909), p. 253.

tions. According to Saxo, King Fróði III is slain by a "sea-cow," i.e., by a witch who had transformed herself into one for just this purpose. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out that behind this mysterious sea-cow lurks the wild boar, the slayer of Adonis.⁴

Gods of the general character of Yngvi-Frey are rare in Northern Europe. Frey has, however, a close parallel in Ireland, in the person of Aengus mac Oc, the Irish god of love. He, too, stands in strange contrast to the other gods of the Irish Olympus and to barbarian gods generally. His favorite weapon is not the sword but Cupid's arrow. His whole nature is decidedly effeminate; his general helplessness and lovesickness, brought out in certain texts,⁵ are certainly the last features one would expect to find in a barbarian divinity of Ancient Ireland.

Aengus mac Oc has a human counterpart, the hero Diarmuid, with whom he shares his 'beauty spot,' his handsomeness, and his luck with the fair sex, which won him the nickname *Diarmuid Buidhe nam ban* 'yellow-haired Diarmuid of women.' In the adventures following his elopement with Grainne, his uncle's betrothed, he is powerfully aided by Aengus. The latter's motive is not entirely clear: some texts refer to Aengus as Diarmuid's tutor or foster-father.⁶ It is possible that in a lost pagan version Diarmuid was the son of Aengus, and it must be admitted that the fatal 'beauty spot' rather betrays the hero as the child or the avatar of the god of love. It is understandable, too, that Christian scribes should have allowed this detail to fall into oblivion.

What is even more surprising is that the human counterpart of Aengus suffers the same fate as does the Scandinavian counterpart of Yngvi-Frey: Diarmuid is slain by a wild boar, not a genuine wild boar, it is true, but a human being transformed into one by witchery.

Let us now consider the two divine names, the Teutonic and the Gaelic. It appears at once that Scottish-Gaelic *Aengus*, Ir.

⁴ Hempel, *loc. cit.*, p. 200.

⁵ E. Müller, *Revue celtique*, Vol. III (1877), pp. 342 ff.; J. A. MacCulloch, *Celtic Mythology*, Boston, 1918, pp. 78 ff.; Alexander MacBain, *Celtic Mythology*, Stirling, 1917, p. 130; J. R. Reinhard, *The Survival of Geis in Mediaeval Romance*, Halle, 1933, p. 226.

⁶ S. O'Grady, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, Vol. III (1853), p. 68.

Oengus, is identical in form and meaning (whatever that meaning may be) with Goth. **Iggus* (< **Enguz*). The two are obviously one. So the question remains to be answered: Is the god Celtic or Teutonic? Looking at the distribution of his cult in Ireland and among the Teutons, one cannot but notice that he is rather an isolated figure in the former country, while in Teutonic lands he enjoyed a widely diffused cult, being known all over Sweden, in the Norwegian Thrándir district,⁷ and even in Iceland, while the very name of the Ingaevones attests his popularity among the tribes of the German and Danish North Sea coasts. It is thus seen to cover a vast territory and to embrace the sea-faring tribes of the Teutonic peoples. How did it then obtain a foothold in Ireland?

One tribe of the continental Ingaevones was the Chauci, who inhabited the Frisian coast. Of them Tacitus (*Ann.* XI.18) reports that they undertook piratical expeditions overseas ("Per idem tempus Chauci . . . inferiorem Germaniam incursavere duce Gannasco, qui . . . levibus navigiis praedabundus Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites et imbelles esse."). How far they pushed these enterprises of theirs may be seen from Ptolemy's *Geography* (II, 2.8), who reports that they were settled on the Irish east coast, where they were close neighbors of the Μακάριοι, who were, of course, the Belgian Menapii.⁸ This means nothing less than that a tribe known to have worshipped Yngvi-Frey settled in Ireland some time during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Very probably these Chauci were responsible for the introduction of the Teutonic **Enguz* into Ireland.⁹

There is still another point worth mentioning. The word *oc* in the name Aengus mac Oc has the meaning 'youth' in the sense of the Lat. *iuventus*. It is the same word that occurs in the name of the *Tir na n'Ogue*, the land of youth, of the Ancient Irish saga

⁷ *Fornm. sögur*, Vol. X, p. 312.

⁸ R. Much, *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl.*, Vol. CLXXXV (2) [1920], pp. 17 ff.; J. Pokorny, *Zeitschrift f. celtische Philologie*, Vol. XI (1917), pp. 169 ff.

⁹ The attempts at a derivation of the name *Aengus* from the Celtic (P. W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, London, 1898, Vol. II, p. 155) are not convincing.

texts. On the other hand, the origin of the name *Ing* < **Enguz* has thus far remained obscure, though Jacob Grimm toyed with the possibility of connecting it with Eng. *young*, Germ. *jung*, Lat. *iuvenis*, *iuventus*, etc. In view of the absence of cognates the problem seems to defy a solution linguistically. If, however, the Irish *oc* is considered as an Irish rendering of the Teutonic **Enguz*, this would make a connection between the divine name and the root of words such as *young*, *iuvenis*, etc., rather probable.

REVIEWS

Scandinavian Studies Presented to George T. Flom by Colleagues and Friends. Edited by Henning Larsen and C. A. Williams. The University of Illinois Press. Urbana, Illinois, 1942. \$2 (paper bound), \$2.50 (cloth bound).

This is a fine tribute to the present dean of Scandinavian studies in this country, by twelve friends and colleagues.

In the introductory biographical sketch C. A. Williams dwells more on Flom's formative years than on the period of accomplishment; for else there would have been more stress on Flom's influence as a teacher and on his main effort, viz., the paleographic and linguistic studies in connection with his diplomatic editions of *Konungs Skuggsjá*, the *Gulathing Law*, and the *Old Norwegian Book of Homilies*. The Bibliography of his publications also brings out Flom's assiduous activity as a reviewer of current philological literature.

In his *Notes and Additamenta to Blöndal's Íslensk-Dönsk Orðabok*, the Swedish scholar Hjalmar Lindroth contributes several pages of words and usages not recorded in that magnificent dictionary. I note with amusement the neologisms *bjúg-alðin* 'banana,' literally 'crooked fruit,' in line with *gló-alðin* 'orange,' *granalðin* 'pine-apple,' *rauð-alðin* 'tomato,' and *framsagnarþáttur* 'recitative,' as samples of the puristic folly of trying to keep the tiny nation simon-pure of the foreign word, if not of the thing itself!

The article by Stefán Einarsson on *Terms of Direction in Modern Icelandic* elucidates with much detail a number of problems often very baffling to students and translators. Usage is found to be entirely different in the various districts of Iceland; there are even local quirks inexplicable save through a knowledge of local topography. It is astonishing to note that terms appropriate to West Norwegian geography, such as *útnorðr* 'north-west' and *landnorðr* 'northeast,' are still in use, after a thousand years of separation, and even where, as in the Austfirðir, geographical conditions are exactly reversed.

No. 1 of A. M. Sturtevant's *Old Norse Philological Notes* supports the generally accepted view that forms such as *eydda*,

veidda are due to vocalization of *þ* to *ð* before the time of the syncope of the middle vowel (in the first conjugation), by pointing to the analogy of *edda* 'grandmother,' from **aiþipōn*; which in case of syncopated *i* would have yielded **etta*. In no. 2, Sturtevant denies the shift posited by Noreen of the stop *b* to the spirant *f* in postvocalic position in such sporadic cases as ON *biflia* < *biblia*, *Biflinde* < *Biblinde*; both of which cases Sturtevant explains by contamination, resp. false association. In no. 3 the apparent gemination of consonants in *snemma* is explained as due to analogy to the comparative forms of this word. In no. 4 it is shown that the shift of stress from falling to rising diphthong in Prim. ON did not affect the mora quantity, whether of long or short diphthongs. In no. 5 the shift from the masculine to the neuter gender, in ON and Swedish, of *fingr* is shown to be due to the influence of the type *þing*. Similarly, in no. 6, the occasional shift of *dýrr* from feminine to neuter seems to be due to analogy with neuter *ja*-stems with radical *y*, such as *fyl*, *kyn*.

The Icelandic scholar Sigfús Blöndal makes out a convincing case for the authenticity of the *Óttar Birting Episode* in the *Jöfraskinna* Ms. of *Heimskringla*.

Kemp Malone makes it entirely plausible that the legends of *Auður* and *Gullbrá* and *Skeggi* in Árnason's folk tales are echoes from *Landnáma* and *Kristnisaga*, with the Christian element embodied in the saint-like figure of *Auður*, and the antagonistic heathen element, in that of *Gullbrá*.

Einar Haugen's important article *On the Stressed Vowel Systems of Norwegian* is based on a considerable number of phonetic analyses of dialects—some unpublished—a branch of study cultivated also by Flom, notably in his monograph on the *Phonology of the Dialect of Aurland* (Sogn), the district from which his parents hailed. As a result of the great medieval quantity shift, sharply distinguishing the older Germanic languages from their modern descendants, every stressed syllable must be long, i.e., end in either a long vowel or a long consonant, while every unstressed syllable must be short. In Norwegian, the resultant vowel qualities did not always coincide with the qualities of the old long and short vowels. Moreover, in many western dialects there was a diphthongization of old long vowels, besides still

other qualitative shifts. Surprisingly (simplifying considerably), Haugen shows that the complex vocalic systems resulting were retained in direct proportion to the inaccessibility of the localities where they occur; while districts more open to traffic, whether by land or sea, in their vowel systems conform more or less to the general, and much simpler, Norwegian system (which itself seems due to a crossing of east-west and north-south tendencies). "If the currents of communication in Norway had been otherwise than they are, the phonetic 'drifts' of the local dialects would have produced quite different results. Any formulation of phonetic laws in such dialects must therefore be viewed not as a statement of causality, but as the description of an end-result brought on by a complex series of social inter-relationships."

A list of (some 800) *American Loanwords in American Swedish* is compiled by W. G. Johnson from the Chisago Lake community in eastern Minnesota. Of the *ca.* 300 nouns, 65 now follow the second declension (plural in *-ar*), 93 the fifth (plural with no ending), and 130 have gone over to the English *s*-plural. "Of the 184 verbs, all but three are verbs of the first weak conjugation." The adjective declension has been more resistant to English influence. It is not clear to me why the *sh* of *shanty*, *shop*, *shed* should be transliterated with the pronunciation of *hw* (*hwanta*, *hwap*, *hwed*), whereas *shock*, *shake*, *show* are written *fak*, *feka*, *fo*. There being no *dʒ* (as in *jam*) in Swedish, the phonetic reproductions of words like *charge*, *change* must be accepted with reserve.

If a pun is permissible, the title of A. B. Benson's paper, *Gustavus III in the Librettos of Foreign Operas* might be altered to read *habent sua fata libretti*. Indeed, that of Verdi's fine opera *Un Ballo in Maschera*, having as its subject the murder of the art-loving Swedish king, had its own tragi-comical history as well as pre-history. It is told by Benson in a sober, scholarly fashion, yet with a twinkle in his eye!

"Without stretching the truth too much one might say that Strindberg was 'discovered' by the Anglo-American mind largely in the year 1912 and after"; his most important critical sponsors being Justin McCarthy, Ashley Dukes, James Huneker, and

Edwin Björkman, whose contributions are evaluated in Alrik Gustafson's article *On Some Early English and American Strindberg Criticism*. According to him the outlook for Strindberg's growing popularity among American theatergoers is none too good.

Nearly 600 references to trees and flowers are noted by A. J. Uppvall in his paper entitled *The Floral Element in the Poetical Works of Karlfeldt*. This astonishing showing is of course due to his being an ardent lover of the great out-of-doors with definite botanical leanings. As is the case with many men of eminence in the arts, his senses were exceptionally keen, especially those of smell, vision, and rhythm; and these vivid impressions form an integral part of his lyric utterance.

A study of the *Glossaries to Asbjørnsen's Huldreeventyr*, as is made by Henning Larsen, makes one appreciate the yeoman service of Asbjørnsen and Moe in Norwegianizing Dano-Norwegian. The oldest editions are especially illuminating; whereas the later ones, made with Danish readers in mind, only bring out differing usage in Denmark and Norway. The much more widely read *folkeeventyr* were not provided with glossaries, because for Norwegian readers they needed no interpretation even in 1844, the time of first publication.

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American Swedish Handbook 1943, a publication of the Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., 112 pages, fifty-five cents.

The purpose of this book is to provide up-to-date information concerning Swedish-American activities.

The diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States in Sweden and of Sweden in this country are listed at the outset. The national organizations in the United States receive due attention in a survey prepared by Dean Arthur Wald of Augustana College and Albin Widen of the Swedish Information Bureau of Minneapolis, in which they include the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the American Institute of Swedish

Arts, Literature, and Science, the American Society of Swedish Engineers, the American-Swedish Historical Museum, the American Union of Swedish Singers, the Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture, the John Ericsson Society, the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, the Swedish-American Art Association, the Swedish-American Authors' National Association, the Swedish Chamber of Commerce, the Swedish Cultural Society of America, the Swedish Journalists' Association of America, and the Swedish Province Societies of America. The fraternal organizations described are the International Order of Good Templars, the Scandinavian Fraternity of America, the Independent Order of Svithiod, the Vasa Order of America, and the Independent Order of Vikings.

Mr. Albin Widen has also contributed a chapter on "Organizations in Sweden Concerned with American Relations" and one on "Swedish Agencies in the United States," such as the American-Swedish News Exchange and the Swedish Travel Information Bureau of New York City, the Swedish Information Bureau of Minneapolis, and the Swedish-American Line.

An increasing interest in historical research is evidenced by the work of the Augustana Historical Society, the Delaware Swedish Colonial Society, the Minnesota Historical Society, the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, Ill., and the Scandinavian Historical Research Committee of Seattle, Washington.

Dr. E. W. Olson has prepared an interesting survey of the history and present statistical data of the various religious organizations, while Prof. C. G. Carlfelt of Augustana College gives a tabulation of historical and statistical information concerning benevolent institutions, such as the Immanuel Deaconess Institute of Omaha, Nebraska, children's homes, homes for the aged, hospitals, and hospices.

In his discussion of educational institutions Dean Arthur Wald presents Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Bethany College, Bethel Institute, Bible Institute and Seminary of the Evangelical Free Church of America, Evanston Collegiate Institute, Gustavus Adolphus College, Luther College, North Park College, and Upsala College. Very appropriately this chapter is followed by a survey of courses offered in the Swedish lan-

guage and literature at a number of American colleges and universities.

Associate Librarian Wm. H. Carlson of the University of Washington has an illuminating article on "Swedish Library Collections in the United States."

For the benefit of the bookbuyer there is a list of publishers and booksellers. Nor must we forget to mention the chapter on the "Swedish-American Press," in which we note a gradual transition from the Swedish to the English language.

Prof. O. Fritiof Ander of Augustana College discusses the causes of Swedish immigration to America between 1840 and 1939. Prof. Eric Wahlgren of the University of California at Los Angeles calls attention to significant events of the year 1942 and submits the inevitable necrology.

A bibliography of one hundred recent books in English about Sweden and things Swedish should prove a very helpful feature of the handbook as also the materials suggested for the study of Swedish. Information is also given concerning the distribution of educational films on Sweden. Finally, Prof. Eric C. Bellquist of the University of California at Berkeley discusses the timely topic: Sweden's Position in the War.

From this glance through the pages of the *American Swedish Handbook 1943*, one realizes that it contains a large amount of useful information concerning Swedish-American activities and is worthy of wide distribution. We wish to compliment the editorial committee, Arthur Wald, C. G. Carlfelt, and Birger Swenson, on their work in a new field and hope that the publication may become an annual affair.

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